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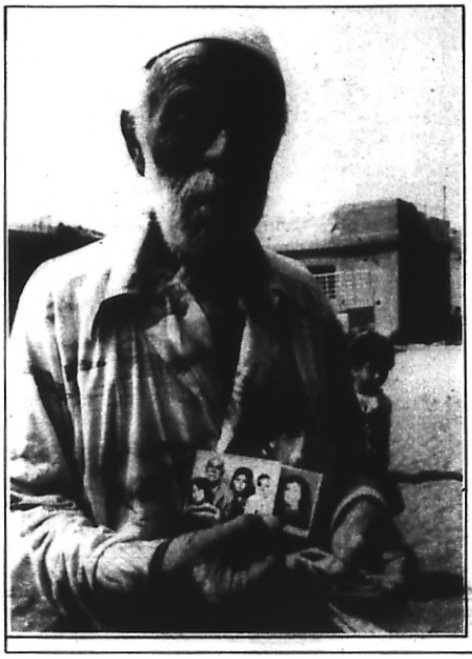

Lebanese Families Demand Release of Kidnapped

Families of persons kidnapped or missing in the protracted Lebanese civil war blocked the mathaf crossing point, one of four major intersections joining east and West Beirut, late July 11 and demanded the release of their relatives.

The protesting families had agreed July 9 to end their three-day demonstration after receiving assurance from Lebanese officials that the problem of the hostages would be immediately addressed. The Lebanese officials formed a special committee with representatives of the families of persons kidnapped in the civil war. But no information was reported about the committee's efforts to release the more than 1400 persons who were kidnapped during the civil war. According to the families, the number of missing persons is 2300.

Sources from the International Committee of the Red Cross said that officials of the ICRC had met only 120 prisoners.

July 9 the families held a sit-in strike at Dar al-Fatwa 'religious court' headquarters where they awaited the results of the committee. After the Lebanese army finished clearing the major crossing points of mines and barricades July 8 to link east and west Beirut traffic for the first time in five months, scores of old men and women blocked the mathaf crossing point and demanded the release of their sons and relatives. Many held photographs of the missing and cried out their names. Over the next three days, the demonstrators used trucks, iron bars, fallen trees, barbed wire and bricks to block the roads to the airport, seaport and the four major intersections connecting east and west Beirut.

Shopkeepers lowered their shutters, schools were closed and streets were deserted in west Beirut July 9 in solidarity with mainly Shi'ite protesting families.

Two days into their protest, Christian families of kidnapped people broke onto Lebanese TV and disrupted the broadcast for one hour. On July 11 the Lebanese cabinet convened a meeting in the presidential palace and brought about a solution to the immediate crisis.

Last week the Lebanese army begn implementing the security plan to reunite Beirut, stabilise the ceasefire and introduce reforms in the Lebanese army. Units of the Lebanese Sixth Brigade began deployment July 6 in the Palestinian camps of Burj al-Barajneh, Sabra and Shatila.

Palestinian and Amal militias clashed in Burj al-Barajneh between July 2 to 4. According to the sources of the International Committee of the Red Cross, nine persons were killed and 65 were wounded.

Arab Women's Union Shuns 'Civil Adminstration'

The Beit Sahour Arab Women's Union (AWU) issued a statement July 10 negating their meeting with the Israeli 'civil administration' and pledged to abide by the national Palestinian consensus of boycotting the 'civil administration.'

The press statement came less than one month after the union head received the Bethlehem area 'civil adminstration' head at the AWU headquarters. The meeting was reportedly held at the initiative of the 'civil administration.'

In the statement, the union declared that they are an inseparable part of the national institutions in the occupied territories and that they will not allow any future meetings with the 'civil administration' to take place. "We stand with all national institutions against the attempts to divide the Palestinian national consensus."

Palestinian national institutions, mainly the elected municipalities in the West Bank, took a decision to boycott the 'civil administration' shortly before it was established. Consequently, nine municipal councils were dismissed after they refused to meet 'civil administration' officials.

The Beit Sahour AWU is considered the largest women's organisation in the Bethlehem area. The institution, which was established before 1967, sponsors cultural activities, including running nurseries, embroidery training courses and other activities.

Gaza Lawyer Framed with 'Illegal' Magazines

Israeli military authorities in the Gaza Strip issued a charge sheet against lawyer Khaled Qidreh from Khan Younis July 9 accusing him of possession of illegal publications. He is scheduled to be brought to trial before the Gaza military court on July 17.

Palestinian National Unity Discussions Continue

Internal discussions towards Palestinian national unity resumed this week between the Palestinian Democratic Alliance and the National Alliance in Damascus, but were clouded by public accusations made by the National Alliance against results in Aden. The dialogue follows the conclusion of the Aden agreement initiated June 26 by the Democratic Alliance and Fatah. The National Alliance (which includes the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command, the Popular Struggle Front, Saiqa and the Fatah dissidents) accused the Democratic Alliance (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Palestinian Liberation Front and the Palestinian Communist Party) of conceding to Fatah and called the Aden Agreement a 'deviation' from the national line.

The third round of dialogue between the two alliances was proceeding based on the Aden declaration of March 26 of the Democratic Alliance and the Aden Agreement of June 26. Despite an agreement between the two sides to exchange public attacks and to continue the dialogue 'in the spirit of national unity,' officials from the National Alliance accused the Democratic Alliance of 'deviation.'

In a statement published in Damascus July 11, the Democratic Alliance counter-charged the National Alliance with violating the agreement not to publicise the content of on-going dialogue. The statement reads: "At a time when we welcome all thoughts and suggestions regarding the Aden agreement, we totally reject any policy of creating a tense atmosphere and accusations in the media by the National Alliance, which only lead to a wider split in the Palestinian national ranks and delay the opportunities to settle the crises through a sincere national dialogue."

The Democratic Alliance confirmed repeatedly that the Aden agreement with Fatah is a victory for the PLO's national line. "Any talk about alleged retraction in the agreement does not hide this fact," the statement said. The alliance explained that the agreement was the result of combined efforts and guarantees the minimum common national position on which all Palestinian national personalities and forces could agree within a united PLO on the basis of a clear national line against imperialist and surrenderist settlement projects.

The statement expressed "our Palestinian people's bitterness towards the positions of rigidity and split which could only lead to the continued paralysis of the PLO and the tearing down of its ranks."

The Democratic Alliance concluded by expressing utmost concern for the continuation of the dialogue with the National Alliance in order "to join the national forces' positions to continue the joint struggle to reunite the PLO through a complete national dialogue aiming at a national agreement with the participation of all the national forces which will be the base to convene the next session of the Palestine National Council." (Translation: Al Fajr, July 12, 1984)

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DIC Holds Israel Responsible for POW's Death in Lebanon

The Druze Initiative Committee (DIC) held Israel responsible for the death of Druze prisoner of war Samir Assa'ad, from Beit Jan in the Galilee, who was held captive by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine for more than one year. The DIC called on the Israeli government to exchange the corpse for Palestinian prisoners held in Israel.

In a statement issued July 8, two days after the DFLP reaffirmed that Assa'ad was killed in the Israeli air raid on Palm Island off the Tripoli coast last week, the DIC warned that "the death of Samir Assa'ad and the attempt on the life of Suleiman Khirbawi occurred as a result of lack of care for their lives because they are Palestinian Arabs." The statement rejected the Israeli authorities' attempts to escape responsibility for the soldier's death and to blame it on the DFLP.

"The DFLP held Assa'ad for more than one year and intended to exchange him for Palestinian prisoners," the statement said. "The Front had no interest whatsoever in having him killed," it continued.

Jamal Mu'adi, head of the DIC, told Al Fajr that he thinks more than 90 percent of Palestinian Druze residents in Israel share this belief.

An Israeli military spokesperson had earlier accused the Democratic Front of killing the soldier 'in cold blood.' The Israeli spokesperson claimed that the DFLP did not have any bases on Palm Island.

However, Herbert Amry, the Austrian envoy who is mediating the release of Israeli POWs held by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command (PFLP—GC), said it was likely that Assa'ad was killed by the Israeli air raid.

In a press conference held in Tel Aviv July 8, Amry said that Palm Island was held by Fatah forces with whom the DFLP had close relations, hence it is not unnatural that the Front had bases on the island.

In its statement, the DIC, which adopts a stand against compulsory military service, called for increased struggle against mandatory military service in the Israeli army. Referring to the death of Samir Assa'ad and the blinding of Suleiman Khirbawi, the statement said that such incidents are likely to occur as long as Druze youths are being drafted.

Samir Assa'ad was captured by the DFLP forces while serving in Lebanon more than a year ago. Last February, the DFLP revealed that they were holding him and expressed readiness to exchange him for a number of Palestinian prisoners who are held in Israel.

Ansar Escapees Hold Press Conference

Three Lebanese who recently escaped from Ansar prison in South Lebanon held a press conference in Beirut July 7 and requested the Lebanese government to intervene through the ICRC to improve conditions of prisoners at Ansar and to secure the release of the sick and elderly.

One of the former prisoners told the press that prisoners are tortured during interrogation. He reported that prisoners complain about the bad quality and shortage of food, that water is rationed and medical treatment is almost non-existent. According to the prisoners, there are 560 men in Ansar prison, including about 75 Palestinians. 'Yousef' said that on the eve of May 18 the three prisoners opened a passage in the barbed wire and were able to escape without being noticed.

He added that the prison authorities discovered another group of three attempting to escape and shot at them, killing Ahmad Ramadan and arresting the other two.

Yousef said that after the first escape attempt in 1983, the Israelis took measures to prevent such action by digging deep trenches around the detention camp. They also added a second row of barbed wire around the prison, increased the number of observation towers, lit the passages with floodlights and increased the patrols to one every half hour.

The escapees explained that in each of the four sections of the prison there are nine tents, one of which is used as a kitchen. They added that every section is headed by an elected prisoner and a committee of four prisoners is in charge of submitting demands to the prison authorities. The three Lebanese reported that they heard Israeli guards complaining about their duty.

Yousef went on to say that prisoners gather for prayers every Friday, which are led by Imam Mohammed al-Arifi, from Saida, who was imprisoned nine months ago. He added that prisoners commemorated the Palestinian national Day of the Land, March 30, and that they usually celebrate the Muslim feasts. (Translation: Al Fajr Arabic, July 9, 1984)

Golan Druze Welcome Released Prisoners

Syrian Druze of the Golan Heights have been celebrating daily and rejoicing the release of 13 prisoners from Israeli jails on June 28. The celebration starts daily at 8 pm and ends at 4 am. It includes national songs, folklore dances and speeches. Delegations from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Triangle and the Galilee attend the celebrations.

Seven thousand people from Majdal Shams, Bog'ata, Ein Qenia and Mas'ada gathered at the entrance of Majdal Shams to receive 13 prisoners released in the prisoner of war exchange between Israel and Syria. Participants marched in a long demonstration for 1500 metres until they arrived in the square of the village where Fuad Sha'er and Yousef Abu Jabal, two of the released prisoners, gave short speeches thanking their compatriots for the warm reception. The prisoners were to spend from 15 to 30 years in jail when they were sentenced in 1971 for relations with Syria. Samih Ayoub, from Majdal Shams, told Al Fajr that the return of eight students from the Soviet Union and nine others from Damascus University this week and the release of three prisoners from Phalangist hands in Beirut added to the happiness of Druze residents. Ayoub said that the release of the Syrian prisoners and their return to the Golan Heights practically buries Israeli plans to annex the Golan Heights.

Shin Bet Death Squads in S. Lebanon

Evidence of Israeli secret service agents operating in south Lebanon and executing civilians in order to stem mounting military attacks against Israeli occupation troops was reported by Israeli daily Yediot Ahranot July 6. Israeli troops and their allies from the South Lebanese army, under the leadership of Antoine Lahad, were targeted several times this week and suffered some casualties.

The Israeli daily, quoting the London Times, reported that plain-clothed Israeli Shin Bet (secret service) agents have been working against the National Resistance forces in south Lebanon. Foreign journalists reported last week that Israeli secret service agents took Rushdi Nahhas, the owner of a bicycle repair shop in the village of Bidyas, from his shop to the main square in the village and shot him in front of his wife and mother. Village residents later said that the Israelis, who were armed with automatic weapons, told Nahhas to choose how he wanted to die. Some village residents were also able to identify the leader of the group as being called Abu Ghazi.

The body of Khadr Bilani, a Palestinian resident of Sidon, was discovered on the eastern outskirts of the city, less than 24 hours after he had been released from Israeli detention. Sidon residents charged that Israeli Shin Bet men are responsible for his death.

The London Times correspondent in south Lebanon reported that Israeli secret service men are equipped with a special white ID card which they use to pass roadblocks. He said that the cards are issued by General Alex Schneider, the liaison officer with the UNIFIL forces in south Lebanon. The paper also said that the commander of the secret service units is General Ya'acov Sweiden, whose headquarters are in Sidon.

Agence France Presse (AFP) quoted unnamed south Lebanese Muslim leaders as saying that they have information that Israeli intelligence has prepared a plan to provoke sectarian strife in the Israeli-occupied region. Religious leaders said that the plan began with the distribution of leaflets signed by various

continued on page 13

Israel to Try 3 Syrian Druze

Israeli police decided to bring to court three Syrian Druze residents of Majdal Shams, in the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights, who had been released only last week after being held prisoners by the Lebanese Phalangists for seven months. The three will be charged for illegally crossing to Lebanon. They allegedly passed the border near Kufr Ghajar and after a few days were captured by the Phalangists in Kufr Mash'ara.

July 10 the three — Kassem Mustafa Mahmud and brothers Sa'id and Hussein Kahaluni — told of how they were mistreated in a prison cell in Beirut. "They beat us day after day with sticks and threw stones at us. For two days we slept in a small closet without water, without bread and without a toilet." They said they slept on the floor for four months. The guards hit them, wounded them and even tried to carve crosses on their bodies with knives. (Translation: Ha-Aretz, July 11, 1984)

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 219, July 13, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	22
Number of articles totally censored out	8
Number of articles returned	1
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	3
Number of articles partially censored but used	3
Number of articles passed	7

Settler Kills 2 Palestinian Females

A new charge sheet was submitted July 10 in Tel Aviv district court against Ephrayim Segal, a settler from Elon Moreh, who is already charged in connection with the murder early this year of 11-year-old Aisha Bahash in a Nablus bakery. The new accusation charges Segal with the manslaughter last year of a second young girl, Ilham Abu Za'arur, also in Nablus.

Segal, 27, was riding in his car August 26, 1983, from Elon Moreh to Nablus. Prosecutor Nurit Shanit said that when Segal reached the main square in Nablus, stones were thrown at his car. Segal stopped, left his car and shot in all directions using the weapon that he had with him. Ilham Abu Za'arur, who was on a shopping expedition for her wedding and was standing near the square, was shot in the chest and back and died within a short period of time. Her cousin who was with her was shot in the shoulder. The prosecutor accuses Segal of causing the death of the girl through 'criminal negligence' and causing severe injury to her relative, Miriam Abu Za'arur.

During the current trial, testimony disclosed that Segal had been arrested for a short period on suspicion of the manslaughter of Ilham. He was eventually released for lack of evidence. During the investigation of his involvement in the Bahash case, new evidence was disclosed which led to the additional charge of manslaughter.

Segal is detained now until the end of his present trial, in which he is charged with disrupting the legal process, destroying evidence and bearing arms without a licence. No date has been set for the second trial. (Translation: Hadashot, July 11, 1984)

Kanafani Commemorated by Book Fair in Beit Sahour

The first annual book fair organised by the Latin Convent Club was successfully concluded in the club's headquarters in Beit Sahour July 9. The book fair, the first one of its kind to be held in the city, was organised in memory of Palestinian author Ghassan Kanafani, who was assassinated in Beirut 12 years ago.

The book fair was held for four days during which hundreds of Palestinian residents from Beit Sahour and neighbouring villages visited and bought many of the exhibited books. The exhibition contained books dealing with politics, economics, philosophy and literature. The fair contained a number of books by Ghassan Kanafani.

In another related event, the Student Work Front at Bethlehem University issued a statement July 8 commemorating the twelfth anniversary of Kanafani's death. The statement recalled the achievements of the Palestinian author and his role in developing the Palestinian literary movement. (Translation: Al Mithaq, July 11, 1984)

Journalist Tawil Banned from Travelling

July 7 Israeli occupation authorities banned Raymonda Tawil, owner of Palestine Press Services, from travelling to Jordan. Tawil received an invitation 10 days ago to participate in a television forum to discuss the Israeli film Khamsin, which portrays the relations between Arabs and Jews in the Galilee.

Tawil was supposed to comment on the film with three other French writers and journalists, including the owner of Nouvelle Observateur, Jean Danielle, and Le Monde correspondent Jean Claude.

Tawil told Al Fajr that she was informed by Morris Bar Kachba, Ramallah military governor, that she may only travel via Lydda airport. She explained that "according to Jordanian law, it is forbidden to travel via Lydda airport." If she did, she would lose her Jordanian passport and would be tried in absentia.

PWC Kindergarten in Dheisheh Vandalised

July 9 unidentified people vandalised the kindergarten belonging to the Palestinian Women's Committee at Dheisheh Camp near Bethlehem. The saboteurs destroyed tables, chairs and children's toys at the centre.

"The estimated loss of the centre is fifty thousand shekels," a member of the Palestinian Women's Committee said. The saboteurs destroyed a window in the kindergarten and made a hole in the wall.

Meanwhile, an attempt to burn the headquarters of the community work committee in the camp was unsuccessful. Local residents discovered the following day that a window in the headquarters was partially burned. Camp residents accuse the Muslim Brothers of the attempt.

VAT Officials Plunder Musrara Shopkeeper

Shopkeepers and merchants of Musrara quarter in Jerusalem, opposite Damascus Gate, struck July 10 to protest against violent raids by VAT officials into their quarter, the arbitrary confiscation of large quantities of goods and the arrest of three more persons.

Ten mounted policemen, three police vehicles and 10 VAT officials participated in raiding the shop of Nasr al-Din Resheq and confiscating goods estimated to be worth IS500,000 to 600,000. VAT officials also took at least IS100,000 in cash from the drawers.

Abd al-Hadi Resheq, who was arrested and then released on IS5000 bail, described the raid to *Al Fajr*: "At first we attempted to solve the problem when the VAT officials broke into our shop and attempted to get IS7million in VAT payments for previous years. Haj Mustafa Abu Zahra, a member of the East Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce, tried to solve the problem and told them that they should register what they confiscate. But the policemen reacted violently. They arrested me, Haj Abu Zahra and Abed Said, a porter in the area. We were accused of hitting the policemen."

During the one-hour operation, Israeli policemen stopped traffic, surrounded the quarter and dispersed residents who came to see what was happening.

Residents of the immediate area who voiced complaints were beaten back with clubs, according to eye-witnesses.

A delegation of merchants went to the Chamber of Commerce, where they met the chairperson. The East Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce subsequently issued a statement denouncing the raid and sent a telegramme to the tax director demanding an immediate meeting with VAT officials to solve the allegations of unpaid taxes.

Shopkeepers in Musrara quarter have been almost daily targets of raids by tax officials in Jerusalem for the past three months. One Musrara merchant was asked to pay IS5.8million in VAT and fines. The string of small Musrara shops is the hub of East Jerusalem's wholesale business. One day before the latest raid, Arab merchants sent a memorandum to the director-general of the Israeli ministry of finance, the customs director, and the income tax and national insurance departments, in which they protested against the taxes as 'life threatening.' They added that because Israeli laws are written only in Hebrew, a language they do not know, they do not understand the actions taken against them.

The value-added tax was imposed on East Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank after 1967, in violation of international law which prohibits an occupying force from imposing new taxes on a population. However, Israeli courts have upheld the tax.

Abd al-Aziz (Abu Ali) Shahin begins the long return trip from court in Jerusalem to his village of exile, Dahniya, in Sinai. Shahin had appealed to the Israeli High Court against his expulsion from the country, ordered by the military authorities. The High Court hearing was postponed until July 22/AO photo.

Palestinian Women's Committee Confers

The Palestinian Women's Committee held its first annual conference at the hall of the Electricity Workers Union in Jerusalem July 6. One hundred and twenty women representatives of various centres throughout the occupied territories discussed and approved the administrative and financial reports of the union's activities during the previous years. The five-hour conference also reviewed the bylaws and amended some articles.

Before closing, the conferees issued a statement supporting the agreement of the Palestinian factions in Aden last week and called for strengthening PLO unity.

Ezziyeh Idris, a member of the PWC's administrative committee, described the conference as well disciplined and successful despite a number of internal and external obstacles facing its progress. Externally, the union, like other national institutions, faces harassment from the Israeli authorities. Idris also pointed out that the traditional cultural barrier in Palestinian society prevents women from enrolling in women's unions or even from participating in their activities.

Among the internal problems, Idris said that the financial issue represented a big problem which cripples the holding of activities. She pointed out that the union's budget is drawn from revenues of some workshops they run in various parts of the West Bank and from symbolic fees for professional training courses in embroidery, knitting, weaving and other courses.

The Palestinian Women's Union was established in 1980, when the first centre was founded in Bethlehem. Today, according to a booklet issued by the PWC recently, they have more than 1000 women members, divided among 37 centres in five West Bank districts and the Gaza Strip. The latest centre was established in Jenin early in 1984.

West Bank Personalities Support DFPE

Over thirty national figures and activists in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip signed a statement of support July 8 for the election list of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality in the eleventh Knesset elections. They made no mention of the DFPE rival, the newly formed Progressive List for Peace.

The West Bank political figures, who had shown little interest in the Israeli elections, called on Palestinian masses within the 1948 borders of Israel to vote in favour of the candidates of the Democratic Front Knesset elections list and praised its political programme. In their statement they said that "the Democratic Front supports the struggle of our people for self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian State."

Bassam Shaka'a, the elected mayor of Nablus, one of those who signed the statement, told Al Fajr that the formation of the new Arab-Jewish Progressive List was a surprise and commented "I have doubts about its ability to attain its political objectives." He said that some elements in the bloc support the Reagan plan and Camp David accords. "The Israeli-Palestinian bloc will scatter the Arab votes," Shaka'a concluded. "The Democratic Front has led the struggle against the occupation, expansion and land confiscation in Israel."

Elias Freij, mayor of Bethlehem, who did not sign the statement, told Al Fajr: "West Bankers have no business in the Israeli elections. The Palestinian inhabitants of the Galilee are politically conscious. It is their duty to choose what they want. We live in the occupied territories and should not interfere with the elections," he said.

Haider Abd al-Shafi, director of the Palestinian Red Crescent in Gaza, supports the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and said that the participation of the Progressive List in the election will divide and scatter the votes. Some of the most prominent nationalist figures in the occupied territories are among those who signed the statement of support, including elected mayors, municipal council members and trade and professional unions.

George Hazboun, former deputy of the Bethlehem municipality, said that support for the Democratic Front is natural because of its role in supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people and the establishment of the Palestinian state. Hazboun also reiterated that the Progressive List has some elements which support Camp David.

Israeli Labour Party, and Jordan Prepare for Agreement

Israeli Minister of Science and Technology Yuval Ne'eman announced July 5 that the opposition Labour party had concluded a secret agreement with Jordan to settle the Palestinian problem once the Labour Party wins the elections.

The independent daily *HaAretz* quoted Ne'eman, who heads the Knesset list for the rightist Tehiya party, as saying that the two sides had concluded an agreement during the conference of Arab Jewry held in Morocco two months ago. He charged that Jordan and Labour agreed on conditions for the future of the West Bank.

In Jordan, Minister of Information Leila Sharaf denied that such an agreement had been made. In an interview with the *Agence France Presse* July 6 Sharaf said that no emissary for King Hussein was present in Morocco when the conference was in session. The minister also claimed that Jordan's position on the issue was that a solution can only come through a UN-sponsored conference which is to be based on UN resolution 242, calling for Israeli withdrawal from the areas occupied in 1967.

The Israeli Labour Party election platform calls for territorial concessions in exchange for peace with Jordan. The platform, however, emphasises the Allon plan, which calls for maintaining Israeli military control of the Jordan Valley area, which they consider a vital security area and where most of the Labour-initiated agricultural settlements are located.

Jordanian officials, on the other hand, have made it clear that they favour a Labour victory in the Israeli elections. (Al Fajr, Al Shaab, July 7)

Haifa Students Denounce Law of Discharged Soldiers

"If the authorities intend to compensate Jewish youth for their three years of military service, then we, Arab citizens, demand compensation for the racial discrimination which we have suffered since birth." So read a public statement distributed July 2 by the Arab Students Association condemning the 'law of discharged soldiers' that was passed by the Knesset last week.

The law grants privileges to soldiers discharged from the Israeli army, for example scholarships and job preference. "This law will damage, first and foremost, Arab high school graduates and the Arab student population," the statement charged. It further warned: "The law will constitute fertile soil for the development of institutionalised racism that will penetrate all fields of life: Jewish students will be preferred over Arab students for entrance to higher educational institutions and also will enjoy scholarships, grants and university services on a much broader scale than their Arab student colleagues. All through the excuse of military service." Israeli law prohibits Palestinians, except Druze, from the draft.

The national association of Arab students called on the universities' administrations not to implement the law. (Translation: HaAretz, July 5, 1984)

Yabroud Villagers Regain Their Land

Israeli military authorities restored more than 500 dunums of land from the villages of Ain Yabroud and Silwad, Ramallah district, to its Arab owners June 26, after land owners proved that they possessed documents proving ownership.

Landowners filed a complaint to the Ramallah military governorate shortly after the settlers began working on the land. Mousa Mahmoud Mousa, mayor of Silwad, who filed the complaint, told Al Fajr that he had to pursue the petition for more than one month before the military governorate agreed to send officials to survey the seized land and check the landowners' documents.

Israeli land surveyors inspected the land last May and decided that the land was grabbed illegally. It wasn't until late June that the military authorities notified the landowners of their decision to restore the land to its owners. The mayor said all landowners were notified that they can go back to working on their land. Most of the land was used to grow winter crops.

Mayor Mousa told Al Fajr that the authorities did not have any excuse to hold on to the land. "Everybody possesses official land registration documents which nobody can challenge," he said.

Ofra settlement was built in 1977 on a former Jordanian military camp.

4 from Galilee Convicted for Flag-Raising

Meanwhile, three other youths from Arrabeh and Sakhnin were sentenced by the Acre magistrates court to various prison terms July 6. They were convicted of similiar charges. Khaled Sih, from Arrabeh, was given seven months in jail and fined IS100,000. He was also given a six month suspended term. Mohammed Khalil, 20, was sentenced to seven weeks and fined IS30,000, while Ibrahim Khalayleh, 21, from Sakhnin, was given three months actual sentence and fined IS25,000.

Dheisheh Youths Protest Shooting

Five Palestinian youths from Dheisheh, wounded by Israeli soldiers July 3, submitted a complaint through advocate Felicia Langer to Israeli Minister of Defence Moshe Arens. The 150 youths on the three buses reported that after two hours of waiting by Rachel's Tomb at the entrance to Bethlehem they were forced to go to the military headquarters in Bethlehem and again back to the checkpost. At the checkpost, an officer called Haim ordered the passengers out of the buses.

The youths claimed they were brutally treated by the Israeli officer and when they protested against him, he shot at them. Langer demanded that all those responsible for the opening of fire be brought to trial. (Translation: Al Fajr July 6-7, 1984)

Solidarity Sit-in for Jnaid Prisoners in Nablus

The mothers and relatives of Palestinian political prisoners in the Nablus central prison held a sit-in strike at the offices of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Nablus July 9, in solidarity with the Palestinian prisoners who refused to receive their visitors July 2, protesting the maltreatment in the new prison. News leaks from the new prison (Jnaid) show that scores of Palestinian prisoners have been transferred from Beer Sheba and other jails, and that rooms have become overcrowded.

Palestinian women's organisations issued a statement demanding an improvement in the quality of food, medical treatment for prisoners with chronic diseases, cleaning materials, an increase in the monthly budget given by the families to each prisoner, a reduction in the number of prisoners in each room, the installation of bedframes to avoid catching diseases from sleeping on the floor, an increase in the time for excerise and permission for newspapers, magazines and radios in prison. Prisoners complained that they are kept in their rooms for 22 hours a day.

Families of prisoners held a sit-in strike at the offices of the ICRC in Jerusalem last week, protesting the beating up of prisoners which led to the injury of nine prisoners. The families demanded that the wounded must be treated by special doctors. (Translation: Al Talia, July 12, 1984)

The Dawn

AL FAJR

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Mitterand's Government... Turning the Tables

Despite the various European initiatives for the solution of the Palestinian problem, European countries are still unable to make the first step away from American influence.

France also has been unable to distinguish its foreign policy and make it independent of American plans, though it has tried to do so.

If that was not the case, how then can we explain France's refusal to host an international conference in Paris on the Palestinian problem a few months ago? How can we explain President Mitterand's statement in Amman this week that there is no way to meet Arafat without the PLO's recognition of Israel? The statement is unequivocal in demanding one-sided recognition.

Mitterand is turning the tables. He implies that such a meeting between him and Arafat is impossible. Why does Mitterand's government insist on that (PLO's recognition of Israel) at a time when France is trying to establish economic and political relations with most Arab countries based on France's 'understanding' of causes? The most important Arab cause is the Palestinian cause. So, as long as official France ignores a just solution for this cause, and as long as France does not bear its share of the responsibility for finding a solution to this problem, then France will be exploiting the French-Arab relation in its favour. It will be described also as anti-Palestinian.

The French role, we are convinced, is an important one in finding a solution through an international conference. If France is not convinced yet, then the vitality of a Palestinian independent struggle and the vitality of a common Arab stand together with the support of peace-loving nations will be able to effect new political changes and create right impressions on all parties.

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Felicia Langer Takes a Hard Look at Israel's Human Rights Crisis

"If the present state of war between the Palestinian people and the Israeli-Jewish people continues for a hundred years," as Rafael Eitan, former chief-of-staff of the Israeli army, was quoted saying, Felicia Langer and a few others like her in Israel will always be remembered as the bright side of an otherwise dark and frightening period. Besides being the lawyer entrusted with defending many of the celebrated cases of Palestinians under occupation, the 53-year-old Polish-born lawyer is the vice-chairperson of the Israeli League for Human Rights and the author of several books and numerous articles on the Palestinian issue. On her last visit to Washington, DC, for a series of lectures, she spoke to *Al Fajr*.

Although obviously tired from a very busy programme prepared for her by the Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), Langer was still very alert at 12:00 midnight, on a mid-May Washington night, when we sat with her to conclude an earlier interview. Waiting for her in the same room was a large crowd of friends, each wanting some time with her.

It was immediately learned from her that, while the need for her work in the pre-67 areas is still there, the demand from the territories is so great that no time is left to tackle the problems of the 1948 Palestinians. The treatment by Israel of Palestinians, Langer said "is worse" now than it was before 1967

Felicia Langer

Whatever exists of what is called Israeli democracy, Langer argues, is for Jewish citizens of Israel, while for the Palestinians there is no democracy. Palestinians, she said, "have no right to possess or to purchase land," this in addition to discrimination in jobs, academic institutions and more. Once oppression, racism and discrimination are allowed in a society, Langer inferred, their targets could change from those for whom they were intended. She talked about cases of beatings by the Israeli border police of Jewish demonstrators, and censorship of the Israeli-Hebrew media, because such practices are common against Palestinian targets. As an example of censorship, she mentioned the closure of the Israeli Hebrew paper *Hadashot* by the censor for publishing an item without prior censor approval. Closure and daily censorship of the Palestinian press are common practices.

An Israeli soldier checks the bag of an old Arab woman in the Old City.

American-Israeli Relations, "Unbelievable":

Though she is known to be very articulate, Langer was even more so when she talked about American-Israeli relations. The US feels about Israel, she said, "the same way I feel about my clients," but then she immediately added, "it is not just a client-lawyer relationship;" it is more.

The relation, she said, is that between a superpower aiming to dominate the ME region, "but it does not want to do it [with] American hands." The Israeli army is thus there to do it for them. The two, the US and Israel, she continued, have "conformity and a joint conviction," as well as "joint anti-Soviet, anti-Arab and anti-liberationist attitudes," and most of all they have joint objectives. The fact that the US looks subservient to the Israelis, she said, comes from guilty feelings about the Nazi Holocaust, and dependence of the master on the servant, when the master depends very much on the servant to do certain things which the master never bothered to learn.

Israel, Langer concluded, does the dirty work for the US; and if Israel was not there, she added, the US believes it would have to maintain a large US army in order to do what Israel is doing. This kind of a relationship, she said, makes it hard, if not impossible, for the US to criticise Israel when Israel does something the US disapproves of. Israel, in the final analysis, acts as a proxy for the US in all areas of life, and in all places.

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Reagan's Anti-Terrorism Bill: An Official Hit List?

by Naseer H Aruri and John J Carroll

Top: US Marines policing Grenadians during their November 1983 invasion.
Middle: Israelis bombarding West Beirut during their 1982 invasion.
Bottom: Israeli settlers charged with membership in the terrorist underground arriving at court.
How could the US or Israel be exempt from prosecution under Reagan's proposed legislation?

Ronald Reagan alarmed many civil libertarians this spring when he sent a sweeping anti-terrorist package to the United States Senate. The proposed legislation would give broad powers to the Secretary of State to declare organisations and countries as 'terrorist' and to prohibit assistance to those countries or groups by American citizens.

The proposed legislation would allow the Secretary of State to publish a 'terrorist' list of proscribed organisations and countries reminiscent of the notorious 'Attorney General's List' of the 1950s and 1960s, which identified Communist and other leftist groups. The Secretary of State would have the power to find that the acts or 'likely acts' (!) of a foreign government or group are such that the security of the United States, its citizens, or businesses are in some way threatened. The legislative language is remarkable for its vagueness and lack of clear guidelines as to what constitutes a terrorist group, which facilitates the potential political application of the provisions.

Once a group was labelled 'terrorist' it would become unlawful for Americans or American business to cooperate with that entity. The ban against co-operation is again stated in the broadest terms, defined as it is by acting "in concert with" or providing "any logistical, mechanical, or similar support services." The prohibition also has an extra-territorial character to it, for the ban is on activities not only within American boundaries but "anywhere in the world."

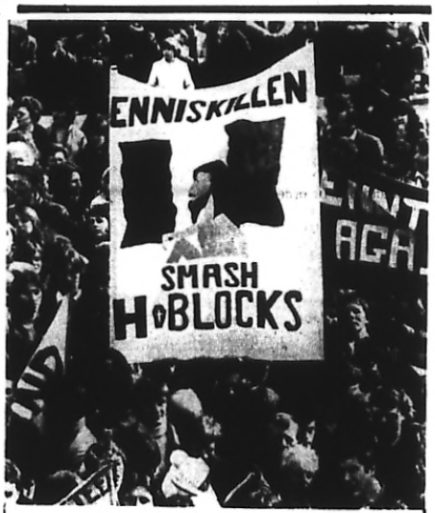
In application, the consequences of this legislation for Americans who sympathise with the political goals of 'terrorist' groups — as the PLO, Sandanistas, or Cubans might be labelled — would be severe. Such persons would be unable to act openly by their beliefs. Recently, for example, OXFAM America sent a relief ship to Nicaragua equipped with farm implements and other materials as a symbol of solidarity by some Americans with the Nicaraguan people. Under the 'anti-terrorist' legislation such activities could be prohibited if the Administration acting through the Secretary of State so chose. Americans who sponsor fund-raising appeals for Palestinian causes, or who contribute to cultural agencies allied to the PLO, could become subject to jail terms and heavy fines, even if their activities occurred abroad, while visiting their homeland, for example, or in some third country. An official or employee of an American company abroad which provided telecommunications services to or even catered a Cuban or PLO function would fall under the act.

Should the legislation be passed, which is not considered likely during this session of Congress, it would almost certainly be challenged in the courts on due process and First Amendment grounds. The vagueness and generality of the provisions would certainly provide constitutional grounds for a due process challenge. The sweeping nature of the legislative language would make it difficult for potential victims to understand the boundary between legally acceptable and unacceptable conduct. Furthermore, the operation of the bill would be such that debate and political activity on a range of foreign policy issues would be seriously threatened. Persons who support revolutionary movements (or even land reform) in Central America, who support Palestinian self-determination, who oppose the British presence in Northern Ireland, or the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon, might find themselves in legal difficulty. Such legislation would have a serious chilling effect on the First Amendment freedom of speech, press, and assembly.

The Administration would defend this legislation as a legitimate use of the President's foreign policy powers and of his authority as commander-in-chief. This is a defence which might find some sympathetic ears among the conservative members of the Supreme Court, among the Nixon, Ford and Reagan appointees who now hold six of the nine seats.

Ironically, this phenomenon of 'state terrorism,' which so alarmed Mr Reagan and impelled him towards this attempt to resurrect this McCarthyist relic, is characteristic of his own Administration. Reagan's list of contributions to this phenomenon includes the invasion of Grenada, the mining of Nicaraguan harbours as well as the continued efforts to train and supply the guerrilla forces trying to overthrow the government of Nicaragua, and the shelling of Lebanese mountain villages in the winter of 1984. It is not without reason, then, that Reagan's proposals specifically exempt US officials who, in pursuit of 'terrorists' and would-be terrorists, themselves commit terrorist acts.

"This phenomenon of 'state terrorism' which so alarmed Mr Reagan and impelled him towards this attempt to resurrect this McCarthyist relic is characteristic of his own administration."



Above: A Palestinian woman cannot bear to look at her sister wounded by Israeli shelling in 1982.
Below: Catholics support IRA hunger striker Bobby Sands.
Fund-raising, cultural events or even catering — at home or abroad — could be made illegal.

Bir Zeit University is preparing a spectacular summer evening programme of events for the first time. Daoud Kuttab from Al Fajr explains how difficult yet possible the event is.

The Bir Zeit 84 Festival:

Activating the Artists' Movement in the Occupied Territories

In a town 15 kilometres west of Ramallah, work is underway in preparation for a major cultural festival scheduled for the entire month of August.

The Bir Zeit '84 Festival is expected to draw thousands of local and foreign spectators to its more than 20 major performances by local and foreign groups, and to its walk-through tour of a model village.

Student Council representatives the student activities office, the Bir Zeit administration and the municipality of Bir Zeit are working together on the massive project.

Khaled Abu Sa'da, student council member and in charge of publicity for the festival, told Al Fajr that BZU students from all parts of Palestine will be the backbone of the festival. "Students," he said, "will work on publicity and information, sell tickets, arrange parking, and perform other duties in the model village."

Walid Abdel Salam, artistic director of the festival and member of the student affairs office, described the various activities planned for the festival: "There will be six local theatre groups, six folklore dance groups and six music groups performing daily." In addition to the major events, over 25 groups of performers will give small programmes in the early evenings.

According to Abdel Salam, the wood and painted styrofoam model of the Palestinian village is being designed by a special committee. Local artists Suleiman Mansour, Nabil Anani and Issam Badr are assembling a wing of local crafts in pottery, glass, carpet-weaving, carpet-making, embroidery, copper, olive wood, leather, bamboo and mother of pearl. Mansour, who along with the other artists is employed by Bir Zeit University to help develop local crafts, said that guests will have an opportunity to watch craftsmen while they work and buy or order work done in front of them.

A special wing in the model village has been put aside for an international poster contest to be judged by well-known graphic artists. Abdel Salam said that he expects over 25 international and local artists to submit posters for the exhibition. Posters for the contest are to cover two themes: Academic Freedom — A Permanent Struggle and Bir Zeit — Window on Palestinian Society. First and second places will be chosen for each theme, with prizes of US$1000 and US$500.

Other wings in the portable and reuseable Palestinian village, which cost more than JD10,000 to assemble, will contain an exhibition of local artists' work. The exhibition will include 200 works from 40 artists and craft workers, a Palestinian home and popular dishes. Iyad Abu Ghosh, member of BZU Student Council and head of the art committeee, described the features of the model home: "Visitors will be entertained in this traditional home with coffee served by Abu Salim. Oriental music will be played on the lute, and stories about the fields and life in the villages will be told in the traditional manner."

The nightly performances at the university will also be on a contest basis. Abdel Salam explained that the idea of the festival "is a serious attempt to activate the artists' movement in the occupied territories by finding a permanent location where artists and spectators can meet and build a proper relationship." Prizes of JD400 and 200 will be given to the top two groups in theatre, music and folklore dancing. Local judges for all the events have already been chosen, based on their experience and knowledge in the various arts and on condition that they have no connection with any of the competing groups.

The life-size model village, designed specially for the 1984 festival, will house craft rooms, the poster contest and traditional story-tellers/AO photo

Snags

Taysir Masriah, member of the student affairs office and the overall director of the festival, described some of the problems that faced organisers in their preparations. He said that the closure of the university and last minute changes in the programme caused difficulties. "The one-month closure of the old campus was especially a problem because it delayed work on the Palestinian village." Masriah, who is a choreographer and a graphic designer, said that the delay forced organisers to drop certain features of the village in order to finish on time. With three weeks to go before the opening, Masriah, Abdel Salam and student volunteers are working day and night in order to finish by August 1.

Planning for a major festival in the occupied territories poses a great problem to Bir Zeit organisers because of their ignorance of existing groups and their artistic levels. Artistic director Walid Abdel Salam travelled to various regions in order to meet with groups and preview potential performances. The lack of any permanent theatre throughout the land made the choosing process very difficult. Masriah, who designed the festival poster and logo, said that after initial choices, "We discovered that groups with higher artistic levels had been missed out and at the same time groups that had asked to participate in the festival were not taking the work very seriously." So after printing programmes and brochures, festival directors had to stop and make a number of changes in the programmes. Another problem facing organisers was how to encourage outside participation in the festival. "We wanted to invite a number of folkloric and artistic groups in order to introduce our people to other people's cultures," said Masriah. But, without previous contacts or enough advance notice, festival organisers were not very successful on this score. A Greek folklore group is expected to be the only international group at the event and even this group is not confirmed.

Military Authorities

The cloud that has hung over the plans of Bir Zeit Festival planners has been the unpredictable reaction of the Israeli authorities. In the past, the university has had a certain level of control over internal performances. Only ticket-holders will be allowed admittance, for example, in order to maintain the festival as an internal event.

One month before the scheduled opening of the festival, BZU officials and student council representatives were invited to military government headquarters to tell Israeli officials the programme of the festival. Festival organisers stressed to the Israeli military that the festival is a purely artistic and folkloric endeavour and that most of the theatre groups' plays have already passed the censor. At the end of the meeting, the Israelis told the festival organisers to make sure that there will be no flags and no photos of Palestinian leaders, and that no demonstrations take place. "Otherwise, we cannot sit by idly," they warned.

The festival activity is going ahead full-steam. Festival officials have decided to invite local and international press, and heads of diplomatic missions in East Jerusalem consulates, with the notable exception of the US consul. They are working with the knowledge that the military could close the festival before it opens — and no reasons need be given.

The Nazi Experience: Obedience Based on Greed and the will not to know

Sever Plutzker, from the Hebrew daily **Al Hamishmar**, warns against growing facism. The following collection of articles is an attempt to dot the 'i's.

At the end of July 1932, Germans went to elections for the third time in a period of five months and granted an unexpected victory to the Nazi party — 37 percent of all the votes. It was the highest vote supporting the Nazis in true democratic elections in Germany; in the Autumn 1932 elections support for the Nazis became less than 33 percent, ie. less than a third of the German people voted for the National Socialist Party when they were given the right of a more or less free vote. In those same crucial elections of November 1932, the Communists won 16.5 percent and the Social-Democrats won 20 percent of the votes, thus altogether the left-wing block was stronger than the Nazis.

The Left and the Centre were unable to unite and, after the short rule, of much intrigue, of General Kurt Von Schleicher, President Hindenburg gave the Chancellor's seat to Adolf Hitler. All the democratic institutions were trampled over and the non-Nazi parties were persecuted to death. In the elections that took place on March 5, 1933, the Nazis gained 44 percent of the votes, mainly at the expense of the Communists who lost about one million votes, as a result of the violent persecution campaign. About three months after the elections, Hitler also dispersed the small German National Party, his so-called partner in the coalition (its leader declared his withdrawal from Hitler's government) and on July 14 of the same year it was stated by law that the National Socialist Party is the only legal party in Germany.

Who were the voters for the National Socialist Party? They came from all levels of the German people, but mainly from the petit bourgeoisie, which was most open to absorb the Nazi ideas. Hitler was supported by small merchants, independents, peasants and residents of small townships. All these were not looking for any logic in the messages of National Socialism and didn't consider the promises (in light of their possibilities of implementation in future). They wanted to be deceived. They wanted to run away from their situation and their reality towards the bright promises. Many Germans voted for the Nazi Party because it promised everything to all and ornamented its platform with an overwhelming portion of extreme nationalism, xenophobia and the glory of power.

The German people, as the recent researches about this dark era proved, didn't vote for Hitler unanimously, and even didn't obey him without hesitation. However, the Germans of the 1930s and 1940s willingly conceded their hesitations and doubts for the sake of material privileges that the Nazi regime had promised generously, and of the national revenge and might. In the course of years, they became apathetic regarding persecution and state violence.

The support of some Germans for the Nazis is not necessarily explained by the latter's anti-Semitic propaganda. Those who voted for the Nazis did so because of various reasons, among them national pride, the feeling of belonging, disappointment with democracy and the bitter memories of the 1920s' inflation. "Nothing caused the German people," writes Stefan Zweig, "to be so embittered, so hateful, so ripe for falling into Hitler's hands, like the big inflation." The traumatic experience with inflation and loss of values, positions and influence that followed it, left its deep cuts in the conscience of the ascending classes. The people saw how all material, political and spiritual values were dissolving in the heat of inflation. The Nazi Party, that promised a sure paradise, was waiting to embrace them.

Historians in one of the country's universities have recently collected a number of documents that explain the main points of Nazi ideology of the 1930s. These articles are published here as material for thought and as a warning against extremist ideologies, that no one can predict where they may lead their believers to.

Every seventh citizen — 14.3 percent of the Israeli population — 'totally justifies' the setting up of the Jewish terrorist underground in the [occupied] territories. They support the murder of Arabs, as was the case in the attack on Hebron University last year and the bombs in six Arab buses in Jerusalem three months ago. They support the idea that in a Jewish state, with a Jewish government, Jews are allowed to organise in order to murder Arabs. All that was understood from a recently published PORI survey.

More statistics are derived from the survey: 17.5 percent of Israeli citizens believe that there is a 'certain justification' for the underground's existence. Also, if the term 'certain justification' is interpreted in its simplest meaning, the intention is to justify part of the deeds allegedly committed by the underground. And because the underground group has been accused of murdering Arabs, the difference between the two categories participating in the poll is that the second justifies only selective action, such as the assassination attempt on the mayors, and not any murder. This means that it is permitted to murder those whose views do not please the underground's leaders, especially if the government and the security forces don't consider these views even liable for bringing to court.

Israeli settlers from the West Bank express their extremist opinions in a demonstration, harkening back to the stated goals of the Nazi Party: "Members of foreign nations (non-citizens) should be expelled from the Reich."

From the survey's findings it is comprehensible, therefore, that 31.8 percent of Israeli citizens — one out of three — supports murder of Arabs by illegal Jewish underground groups. This data puts an end to the debate going on in Israel on the question whether murder of POWs and Arab citizens is an exception or a norm. When a third of the state's citizens support something, the thing is a norm and not an exception.

This doesn't mean, of course, that everyone of that third is prepared to murder Arabs with their own hands. Many would back up for fear of punishment, and others are not physically and mentally capable of actually committing the acts of murder which they support. From a moral point of view, this doesn't matter; whoever supports murder of Arabs is no more moral than the person who commits the deeds.

The findings about the range of public support for the Jewish underground are shocking, more shocking than the disclosures of the deeds for which the underground itself is suspected. If this mentality is confined to some twenty or more lads, as long as they form a group that the majority of the state's citizens condemn, then it is not dangerous. Even if the support for the underground was reduced to a part of Gush Emunim, that would count altogether some thousands of members — still it would be possible to hope to locate the centres of moral rotting and to eliminate their spreading. But when it counts about a third of the population then the state is on its way to an abyss.

Among other things, the survey disclosed that, in the National Religious Party and Tehiyah, not to speak of Kach, the justifiers of the underground's erection are a majority.

In the last two months, all the illusions have been blown up. Some thought that hatred for Arabs and feelings of revenge and murder prevail mainly among Jews from Arab countries because of the suffering they carried from the Arabs in their countries of origin. However, it is clear now that the underground group consists mainly of Jews from European countries. Members and supporters of the terrorist underground include rabbis, professors and senior army officers. In addition, the social cross-section of the National Religious Party members and the Tehiyah is not of Oriental Jews or those deprived of education.

The Israeli army is an army of the people, for good and for bad, and is also in charge, in time of peace and of war, of dealing with POWs and civilians in the [occupied] territories and in Lebanon. Soldiers bring to the army their civilian opinions and, as mentioned, if let's say the division of opinions among the soldiers is similar to that among the civilian population, which is a reasonable presumption, every third soldier and officer justifies, partly or totally, the Jewish underground. We should also take into account situations of pressure, after a battle in which Israeli soldiers fall, or during violent demonstrations, when it is possible that soldiers fall due to the incitement of others.

The survey sheds a terrifying light on the moral nakedness that for many of us, including definite people of morality, it would be convenient to cover with the doubtful fig-leaf of the term 'exceptional.' No estimation of the number of murdered POWs and civilians during Israel's wars has ever been recorded. Some cases were published, despite attempts to cover them up by the security system and the various governments. However, many more incidents since the 1948 war until the war in Lebanon have never been exposed. In the absence of such an estimation, it is hard to prove unequivocally whether the accumulation of the known cases means 'reasonable exception' or an invalid norm.

The survey's findings make the debate academic, from a practical point of view. What is decisive is the fact that, here and now, every third citizen supports the murder of Arabs, and there is no need for a rich imagination in order to guess what might happen in the future, when this public, that counts hundreds of thousands, will encounter,in time of war or of peace, Arab civilians or POWs. This survey is, indeed, a census of potential murderers of Arabs and their supporters, and also a census of law-offenders who don't bow down in front of the state institutions. The survey's findings have been met with apathy — a sign for many among the majority who gave up the struggle and accepted the situation as a fate that they can do nothing about.

In my opinion, something can be done. It is a duty to struggle, in order not to lose the human image as a society and as a people. And above all, it is a duty to publish and publish again and again the findings of this survey, so that next time, no one will be able to say "I didn't know...."

Boundaries, Settlement and Land

"The demand to return to the boundaries of 1914 is politically absurd to the extent of a crime: yet this has nothing to do with the fact that Germany's boundaries in 1914 had no logic. Indeed, they were incomplete and also unreasonable in terms of geo-military benefit. They were not the result of any pre-planned political act but only temporary borders in a political struggle that has not ended at all. With the same extent of righteousness, and in many cases even with a greater sense of righteousness, it was possible to choose any other year in our people's history and to declare a return to the conditions of that year as a stated aim of our external policies."

Hitler
Mein Kampf

"The wide territories in East Europe must turn into a land of settlement which should be occupied, settled and purified by the power of the settlement of those with noble and pure German blood."

Walter Dare
Minister of Agriculture in the Third Reich

"Whoever is settling in the eastern land is not to be considered a colonialist because he is inheriting ancestral land. Those ancestors were temporarily forced to withdraw from this land because of soil troubles or because they wished to wander and there was no state to protect them."

Propaganda material of the German SS

"We, the Nazis, must be attached to our foreign policy aims without compromise. We must secure for the German people all the soil and land [in the East]. By doing so, our sacrifice of blood will be justified by the consent of God and the German generations that come after us. By this, I must turn with full severeness against our pure-soul national authors who pretend to consider such methods an infringement of sacred human rights."

Hitler
Mein Kampf

The Power of Belief and Limitations of Democracy

"True belief cannot exist only in the abstract. It is consolidated with deed. The deed is the only witness for belief. Belief, movement, action: these are the three terms that define the right way of devotedness for us."

Das Schwarze Korps
The SA organ, 1938.

"What took place in front of our eyes was a miracle. What has happened through us is a miracle. The miracle of belief has brought on the miracle of reality. Our belief in life here and now is the belief in the eternal and the godly."

P A Schelund, Nazi ideologue
The Modern Belief, SA organ

"For us, belief comes before conscience. A person should be able to believe. What moves people to struggle and die for certain ideas is not the conscience but the total belief."

A speech by Hitler, 1927

"Affirmation of our people's greatness, the eternal nature of our people and belief may uproot mountains. Belief may liberate nations. Belief may lift peoples from dirt, however big their humiliation."

A speech by Hitler, March 1935

Unity, Blood and Nation

"Our belief is based on thought: we return to the past in order to build once and for all a new future. We are returning to our roots, to the roots of the German man, to the roots that design our destiny. We are requested to bring upon an eternal unity, unity of blood and land: land, nation and God."

Gottfried Grussmeir, Nazi ideologue
Mysteries of Blood

Peace as a Vain Idea

"The idea according to which all wars will cease in the world is not only absurd but also immoral because it means paralysis of many basic and noble powers in the human soul. A people that is too much tied to the abstract hope of peace ends its life in an unreturnable, internal rot. Playing blind games with peace is the shame of our era's thinking and morality."

Heinrich von Treitschke
An ideologue often quoted by the Nazis

Arrow: The beginning — Hagana soldiers attack a village in 1948. Below: The logical conclusion — Yamit settlers in the Sinai fight their own government (threatening suicide) to stay in their exclusively Jewish settlement. The poster reads: "The voice of your brother's blood is screaming." The exclusivity of the Jewish state echoes the Nazi Party's principles: "There cannot be a citizen but one who is a son of the people."

Right: Ariel Sharon, the master expansionist, in West Beirut: "With the same extent of righteousness... it was possible to choose any other year in our people's history and to declare a return to the (borders) of that year as a stated aim of our policy " — Hitler, Mein Kampf.

Excerpts from the platform of the Deutsche Nationalsozialist Partei:

1. "We demand the unification of all the Germans in greater Germany, according to the people's right for self-determination.

2. "We demand the cancellation of peace treaties.

3. "We demand land and soil (colonies) for the nutrition of our people and for the settling of the surplus of our population.

4. "There cannot be a citizen but one who is a son of the people. One cannot be a son of the people but one who has German blood, without consideration of his religion. A Jew, therefore, is not liable to be a son of the people.

5. "One who is not a citizen may stay in Germany only as a guest and necessarily the law for foreigners is applied to him.

6. "Only a citizen will have the right to decide on matters of the state's management and its laws. Therefore we demand the appointment of citizens (sons of the people) only for all sorts of public positions, whether in the state or in the municipalities. We are fighting against a corrupt parliamentary system according to which the appointments to the position are made only according to party affiliations, without giving attention to character and talents.

7. "We demand that the state commit itself first and foremost to taking care of the employment and earnings of the citizens and, if possible, to nourish all the population which is in the state. Members of foreign nations (non-citizens) should be expelled from the Reich.

8. "Any additional entrance of non-Germans should be eliminated. We demand that all non-Germans who entered Germany leave at once...

17. "We demand an agrarian reform which will be suited to our national needs — legislation for confiscation of lands without reward if it is done for the good of all...

23a. "We demand a struggle based on laws against the conscious political lie and against its distribution by the press. In order to facilitate the creation of a German press, we demand:

— That all newspaper editors in the German language and their reporters be members of the people. This is an unbreakable condition;

— That German newspapers need a permit for their publication and that they be printed in the German language;

— That any financial participation by non-Germans in German newspapers be prohibited by law. We demand that violation of this law be punished by the closure of such newspapers and the immediate expulsion from the Reich of those non-Germans who took part in this act. Newspapers that damage the good of all should be prohibited. We demand legal struggle against the direction of art and literature that bear a destructive influence on the life of our people and we demand the cancellation of any gathering that damages the mentioned demands.

24. "We demand liberty for all religions in the state, as long as they do not endanger its existence."

Nazi Party platform
Munich, February 1920

(Translation: Al Hamishmar, June 28, 1984)

The Zorea Commission - A Whitewash Mission

When the Israeli defence minister decided secretly to appoint the secret investigation committee, I said it was a 'joke' because one of the main suspects in the issue is Defence Minister Moshe Arens himself. Instead of appointing a national investigation committee headed by a High Court judge, as would be necessary in a case with such severe implications, the suspect appointed an internal investigation committee headed by a general whose views match those of Rafael Eitan (former chief of staff) and the Tehiya movement.

To characterise this 'investigation' it is sufficient to point out one fact — at least one of the main eye-witnesses was not invited at all for questioning. I mean HaOlam HaZeh's photographer, 'Anat Saragosti. HaOlam Hazeh is the only newspaper in the country that both photographed the hijackers who were caught alive and that insisted on publishing the pictures. The pictures were indeed published, following a hard struggle with the censor, and the hijacker who appears in them was identified by his family — Subhi Abu Jame', 18, from Beni Suheila, near Khan Younis.

Saragosti could testify to the situation of Subhi when he was photographed. She could also identify those who were attending at the time of the murder. However, she was not invited to testify at all. WHY? The answer is self-explanatory: HaOlam Hazeh refused to participate in the silencing plot; it revealed the affair right from the beginning. It should be presumed that no one from its editorial board would help in covering up the facts. Therefore, the HaOlam Hazeh photographer was not invited.

Left: Ariel Sharon and his gang. Right: The Hadashot photo of one of the captured commandos, Majdi Abu Jama'a, very much alive. "The suspect appointed an internal investigation committee headed by a general whose views match those of Rafael Eitan."

HaOlam HaZeh's number one, Uri Avneri, shows dissatisfaction with the Zorea Committee. His facts call for a proper investigation into the 'war crime.'

Murdered Without A Murderer

Following the publication of our photographs and the passing of other photographs from hand to hand, it was no longer possible to hide that the two hijackers were murdered after they were captured. The committee had no choice but to admit this fact.

However, its conclusions could cause laughter if it did not involve a crime with such severe implications — two men were murdered. Yet, there is no murder and there is no murderer. If the hijackers were killed by 'blows,' and if the blows came from many and various men, then it is impossible to identify one or more murderers. The committee stated that some of those blows came at the time of the storming of the bus and were necessary in order to eliminate a disaster. Thus, no murder, no murderer, no court case and no verdict. There is, possibly, suspicion of manslaughter. Nothing severe. Maybe they were beaten to death when they were captured, maybe after that; but as far as the committee is concerned, it doesn't matter. There was no murder and the worst assumption could be a regrettable manslaughter.

Arik's System

In its conclusions, the committee does not take into consideration two most outstanding facts in this sad issue: the responses of the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister on the day of the murder and the following day. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said on the day of the murder that "every saboteur should know that he will not come out alive from an attack." The simple interpretation of this saying is that there is a decision not to leave 'saboteurs' alive.

The next day, the Defence Minister repeated the same text. This text is similar to the statements of Ariel Sharon, who once explained his system when he was battling against the fedayin in the Gaza Strip: "We didn't kill POWs. We simply didn't take POWs." 'Not taking POWs' when the enemy surrenders is a war crime according to international law and the law in Israel. Until today, Shamir and Arens have not yet explained their statements. They didn't even try to give them a different interpretation than could be comprehended by a reasonable listener. It should be remembered that these statements were given after the bus hijacking issue. What can be comprehended from this is that the committee's definition, that there was no order to kill POWs, is untrustworthy. Was there a government decision not to take living POWs anymore? Is such a decision still in force? Was the only regrettable fact which created the need for polishing in this case the presence of journalists and the publication of the matter abroad?

A Hole in the Forehead

HaOlam HaZeh spoke to the hijackers' families after they received their sons' corpses and buried them. The families confirmed that they received and checked their sons' corpses. They did not get the impression that their sons were beaten to death. It didn't even cross their minds at all. On the contrary, one family said that they saw a bullet hole in their son's forehead. All the corpses underwent post mortem operations before they were given to the families. The families saw the big scars — characteristic signs of such an operation. Why, then, was there a need to do it again?

List of Attendants

The conclusions of this 'investigation' cannot change the basic facts. Two hijackers were captured alive and most probably also healthy. Both of them were murdered while in legal custody of the security forces — a fact that constitutes a war crime. Whoever committed the deed is a murderer according to Israeli law.

Arens and Rabin

After the appointment of this committee, HaOlam HaZeh published (May 2) on its cover page the picture of Reserve General Meir Zore'a, head of the committee, and under the picture the question was asked: "Investigation or Blinding?" At the same time, I asked myself how can an event in which the facts are so clear and self-explanatory be polished? I feared that they would find some miserable corporal to stick the charges to. The committee didn't even do that. It did a sophisticated job. It knew how to come out with findings that would not incriminate anyone.

The Defence Minister added some hypocritical comments that insult a reasonable person's intelligence. Arens had nothing to say about his presence near the bus, and what he did says nothing about the earlier lies or about his intention to appoint a committee, which was only done after facts were revealed and after national and international pressure. Arens lied when he said that all the witnesses were invited to the committeee. Only 'reliable' witnesses were invited. He was standing a few metres away from the site of the murder, yet he needed a number of days in order to know what happened! If this is true, there is ground to doubt his abilities. Arens' denial of his ministerial responsibility doesn't add respect to him. Also, his attendance on the spot, near the site of the murder, is investigable.

In order to complete the picture, the Ma'arakh official spokesperson joins, as usual, in the blurring plot. Yitzhak Rabin's words, complimenting the committee and General Zore'a, are similar to previous compliments to Ariel Sharon during the war in Lebanon.

Then comes the television, which turned into a tool for brain-washing; lies were broadcast to the extent that one must wonder how a man like Hayim Yavin (from the television) continues to lend his face and voice to this dirty work.

National Investigation Committee

All these lead to the only conclusion:

A national investigation committee headed by a High Court judge must be appointed, and according to the law of investigation committees. Only then might there be a chance for the truth to see light. Police and military police investigations are, in such circumstances, like mocking the poor. (HaOlam HaZeh, May 30, 1984, Uri Avneri)

Ghassan Kanafani's Returning to Haifa: A Search for the Real Palestine

Ghassan Kanafani's novel Returning to Haifa relates the story of Palestinian Sa'id X and his family who fled Haifa to live in the West Bank. In 1948 the family left a child in the house which was occupied then by a Jewish family who immigrated from Poland. After the 1967 war, Sa'id X went to visit his house. He reclaimed his son Khaldoun but discovered that Khaldoun had been Judaised and was serving in the Israeli army.

Mohammed 'Uwais, Najah University graduate, reviews the story and sheds light on some of its aspects.

*****

by Muhammad 'Uwais

The return to Haifa in Kanafani's novel comes through a different door, which Sa'id has never imagined during twenty years. All doors should open from one direction. Should they open from any other direction, they would be considered still closed.

Many things in the novel come through the other side. Even the name of Sa'id X's son, Khaldoun, abandoned by his parents in Haifa at the age of five months, rushes after twenty years through the back door. The Arab Khaldoun has been raised by a Jewish family coming from Poland. For twenty years this family has taught him how to exist every hour of the day — how to eat, drink and sleep. It is all over. They have stolen him. His name has become Dov. He denied his Arab parents. He is now serving in the army. He has denied his parents, just as Sa'id X and his wife have been denied by Haifa. They have been denied by the house as well. "This is Haifa, Safiyyah. I know it. It is Haifa...but it denies me. Haifa is the same no more. Khaldoun is the same no more. Our house is not the same." The wife of Sa'id X expresses the same feeling when she says about the Jewish woman occupying the former house of the Arab family: "The Jewish woman behaves as if she were at home, as if she were at home."

In this novel, Ghassan Kanafani compares the suffering of the Palestinian individual at the hands of Zionist settlers to the suffering of the Jews at the hands of the Nazis. Ifrat Kosh and his wife Mariam saw how the British colluded with the Zionists to surrender Haifa. On Saturday, three days after the war, they saw no cars in the streets of Haifa. So, the wife wept and said: "I am crying for a different reason... It is a real Sabbath. But there are no more real Fridays or real Sundays." Mariam's complete humanity is demonstrated when she sees two Hagana youths carry something and dump it in a small truck. She quickly sees what they do. She holds the hand of her husband, saying: "That was a dead Arab child. I saw him covered with blood." "How do you know it was an Arab child?" asks her husband. "Did you not notice how they dumped him in the truck as if he was a log? Had he been a Jew, they wouldn't have done that to him," she answers.

Ghassan Kanafani is, perhaps, the first author to give a humane image to some Jewish characters in his writings. This reminds us of the ugly image of the Arab in Israeli novels.

So, having realised that the oppression of Jews at the hands of the Nazis is the same oppression befalling the Palestinians at the hands of the Zionist movement, Mariam decides to go back to Italy. She can't find the words to express her opinion and to explain her real motives. Her husband refuses that.

What is paternity? It is not something bequeathed, for a human being is eventually a cause. But the question is what kind of cause. Khaldoun, having been brought up by a Jewish family, chooses to be a soldier in the Israeli army under the name of Dov, whereas Khaled — (another son of Sa'id X) who has been raised by an Arab family — chooses to be a commando. Each one of them becomes a different cause. Dov's first encounter might be with a commando named Khaled. Isn't man what he is inculcated hour after hour, day after day and year after year?

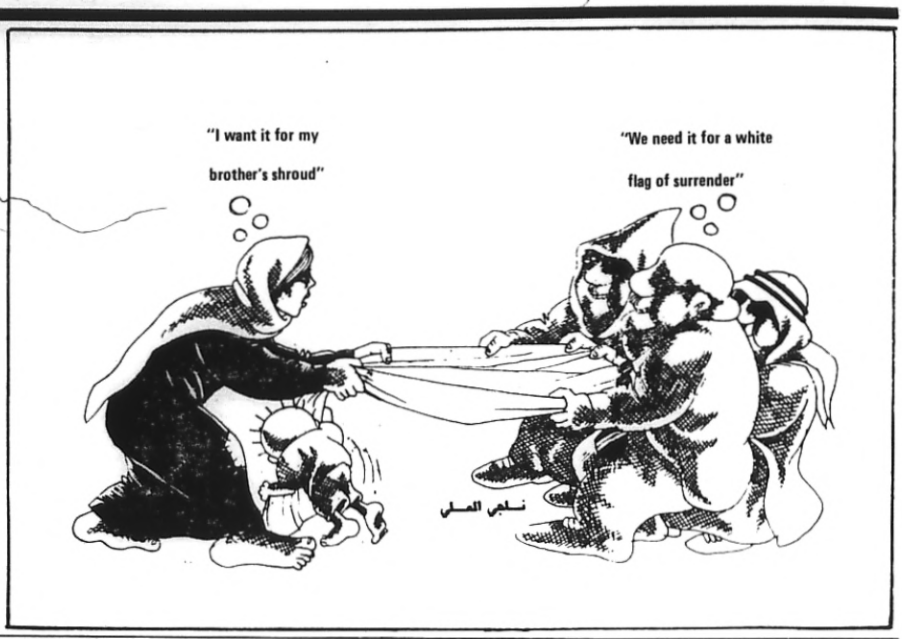
What is a homeland? Is it the two seats left over in the room for twenty years? Is it the table or the peacock's feather or the veranda picture?

Where could Sa'id X find the real Palestine? The Palestine that is more than a mere memory, more than a peacock's feather, more than a son, and more than pencil scratches on the staircase. A homeland is to be found with Khaled, the commando, who is the future. If Dov is our disgrace, Khaled is our remaining honour.

The features of the picture become clearer through the words uttered by an Arab who came to live in the house of Faris al-Libdeh. He says to Faris al-Libdeh, when the latter comes to recover the picture of his brother Badr who was killed in 1948: "If you want to recover Badr's picture, you have to regain the house, Haifa and us. The picture won't solve your problem. But to us, the picture is a bridge between you and us." Having decided to enter through one direction, Faris al-Libdeh carried arms. It is the same with Sa'id X. He preferred that his son Khaled join the Fedayeen.

(Translation: Al Fajr, July 1, 1984)

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



This week's newspapers focused in their headlines on the Palestinian moves to reconcile positions internally and with Syria. Al Fajr, Al Sha'ab and Al Quds newspapers reported July 6 on the visit by the PLO political department head, Farouq Qaddoumi to Syria. The three papers also reported on the results of the inter-Palestinian dialogue which took place in Aden, South Yemen, and the attempts to put the decisions into action. Furthermore, the three major dailies reported on Arafat's visit to Jordan on July 9.

Among other news stories, local Palestinian newspapers reported on the progress in putting through the reunification of Beirut under the authority of the Lebanese army.

On the local news, local papers reported on the sit-in strike by prisoners' families at the Nablus Red Cross office, new Israeli plans to establish new settlements in the West Bank, and on the developments in the shooting of five youths from Dheisheh last week by Israeli troops.

National Unity Agreement

The occupied territories have certainly been the most responsive to the Aden agreement and the most who stood in need for it.

The serious efforts to contain the differences and restrict them so as to ward off their harmful consequences from the occupied territories have had great effect on the success of the Aden agreement.

Everyone knows how difficult these efforts were. And all know how much effort was expected to thwart the reconciliation effort and transfer it to the occupied territories.

We are not mentioning this in favour of one party or the other. We are doing so to draw lessons and adhere to the Aden agreement and push it forward.

AL TALIA
July 5, 1984

Comprehensive Reconciliation Efforts?

The Palestinian-Syrian relations have been one of the loopholes in the Arab solidarity structure. They are also a sign of Arab and Palestinian inability. The expulsion of the Palestinian leader, Yasir Arafat, from Damascus a year ago, was the peak of crisis in the Palestinian-Syrian relations. Besides, it was an affront to the whole Palestinian people whatever the justifications might be.

Reports indicate that relations between the PLO and Syria are under discussion now for the purpose of normalisation and settling the differences between the two sides. Such a fundamental step is indispensable for both, and for the rest of the Arab world.

If we take into consideration the reports about Libya's intention to normalise its relations with the PLO legitimate leadership, that will be an indication that matters are taking their proper channels on the Arab and Palestinian levels. All of them are coming back to rationalism and dialogue instead of outbiddings and slogans.

The re-establishment of pro-Syrian relations means that the opposing Palestinian factions will find it hard to go on in their differences and divisions. They have to join the unified Palestinian ranks.

The reconciliation is to include settling all the hot points on the Arab level, between Damascus and Baghdad, Damascus and Amman, Tripoli and Cairo, Tripoli and Khartoum. Is what's happening now a good sign of an imminent reconciliation? Or is it an isolated event that will collapse, as usual, sooner or later?

AL QUDS
July 5, 1984

Palestinian - Syrian Relations

There have recently been indications that Palestinian-Syrian relations are on their way to normalisation. Abu al-Lutf, head of the PLO political department, is currently in Damascus. Abu Maher, the PLO and Fatah representative in Damascus, is back there. And the Democratic Yemen President will be visiting Damascus next week. All these moves are positive signs to end the PLO-Syrian differences.

The Aden agreement makes it more likely to normalise the Palestinian-Syrian relations. The agreement denies Arab regimes pretexts or justifications to penetrate and manipulate the internal Palestinian arena. It eliminated all causes for division.

The Palestinians welcome the Syrian response to their long-standing call for co-operation in confronting the common challenges. But they do so fully aware of the strategic nature of the conflict and out of their conviction expressed through the declarations of the legitimate Palestinian institutions. The Palestinians have always been keen on establishing good relations with Syria as much as they were keen on maintaining the independence of their decision-making and refusing interference in their internal affairs.

The Palestinians are looking forward to more positive gestures from Damascus so as to start a new era of relations based on mutual respect and the respect for the independence of Palestinian policy. Efforts should be united in the face of common escalating threats.

AL SHA'AB
July 5, 1984

Aden, Syria Dialogue Results

When the Palestinian dialogue in Aden achieved its important results in bringing agreement between Fatah and the democratic alliance, the second significant step was achieved. Dialogue has begun with Syrian officials to settle pending issues between Fatah and the Syrian leadership.

It is perhaps Aden's results, achieved through patience and wisdom and insistence on Palestinian national unity through protecting Palestinian legitimacy and independence of decision, that led to the sound steps towards normalisation with Syria.

Aden's result proved that the PLO is capable of overcoming all obstacles and difficulties aided by the sincere efforts of Algeria and Yemen. They also confirmed that the PLO is able to contain any interference and to isolate the forces that raised arms against brothers to shed Palestinian blood.

Having put the Palestinian house in order, Fatah is now conducting a dialogue with Syrian officials. This is an indication of how important and inclusive Fatah is in reaching an understanding with the Syrians.

We hope that the dialogue with Syria will succeed. This hope is almost certain as long as there are good intentions on the Syrian side to face American designs in the region. The clearer these Syrian intentions, the nearer the Palestinian side will be drawn to overcome the painful past, and go forward to a better and deeper future of Palestinian-Syrian relations.

AL FAJR (2)
July 6, 1984

The Funeral of Deviation

The widespread welcome of the (comprehensive Aden agreement) by our Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories and outside is sure evidence that the agreement is a victory to this people and its allies.

The calls of our people, through the statements issued by its various national institutions, for the implementation of the agreement are sincere. These calls stem from the people's resolve to safeguard its will, embodied in this agreement, which laid the foundations for rebuilding national unity. This in turn will return to the organisation its pioneering role among liberation movements in the world.

In view of this resolve, we appeal to all Palestinian parties to abort the Palestinian rightist effort to get rid of the agreement, which restrained the rightists and besieged their non-nationalistic deviating approach.

The Palestinian right, which was forced to sign the agreement, will seize the opportunity to leap over it. The rightists will not hesitate to exploit any Palestinian opposition to the agreement so that they cancel it and blame others.

All Palestinian parties should realise that the Aden agreement is the last nail in the coffin of deviation from the national path. Our people will never accept an alternative to this path which will lead to the achievement of our national rights.

These parties should know that the comprehensive dialogue is the next step which will inevitably lead to the death of deviation.

AL MITHAQ
July 7,1984

Military Official Accuses US of Incitement

"The US State Department, through the offices of its consulate in Jerusalem, is again stirring up events in the (occupied) territories," a senior officer in the military governorate of the Gaza Strip said July 4. The statement, according to Israeli daily Hadashot, was in response to an initiative the US made for coordination between the foreign organisations that fund projects in the occupied territories — without asking for the opinion of Israel. A month ago, open disagreement flashed between Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens and US Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger, because of Israel's refusal to allow the entrance of American and Saudi money into the occupied territories.

In late June, a conference of all the private voluntary organisations that work in the occupied territories took place in Washington with the intention of coordinating financial aid activities, the Israeli paper charged. The conference was organised by professor Hisham Sharabi of Georgetown University, and with full coordination with the Jordanian authorities. The US Administration budgets annually only about US$9million for financing projects in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Hadashot cited 'observers' in the occupied territories who view the US initiative to coordinate aid as evidence of preparations for the renewal of the US initiative on the Palestinian question, which is to take place after the US presidential elections in the autumn. (Translation: Hadashot, July 5, 1984)

South Africa Collaborates with Israel

Yig'al Ehrlick, chief scientist in the Israeli ministry of industry and commerce, disclosed this week that Israel and South Africa are working together on eight research and development projects.

According to an agreement that was signed one year ago by the director-general of the Israeli ministry and his South African counterpart and that went into force in April, each government is to contribute US$1million annually for the common projects. The financing will cover 50 percent of the expenses for authorised research and development, and the budget for each of the eight projects is not to surpass US$500,000 per annum for three years.

The agreement followed a visit by a South African delegation to Israel sponsored by Isratech. The eight projects in which Israeli and South African companies expressed interest for cooperation are in the following fields: computerised irrigation systems, sophisticated exchange systems, learning systems, programming for financial management, programming for heavy soil work, computerised power supply, emulsifiers for the food industry, and kelp cultivation. It was also disclosed that the research and development works will be carried out primarily in Israel. Negotiations are taking place for further projects. (Translation: HaAretz, July 11, 1984)

A woman guard at Mevo Edumim settlement composed, for the time being, of a collection of parking vehicles and tents. Thirteen families are on the spot with 35 children. The new settlement, established July 8, is part of the new settlement push by Gush Emunim.

continued from page 2

Shin Bet

religious groups attacking each other.

Despite Israeli secret service terror practices, there were at least five military attacks against the Israeli army and the forces led by Antoine Lahad, which have been taking an increasing military role in south Lebanon. An Israeli soldier was wounded July 8 when nationalist commandos attacked an Israeli checkpost east of Tyre. The commandos, who used light arms fire in the attack, fled through neighbouring fields before Israeli troop reinforcements arrived. The wounded soldier was transferred to Haifa for treatment.

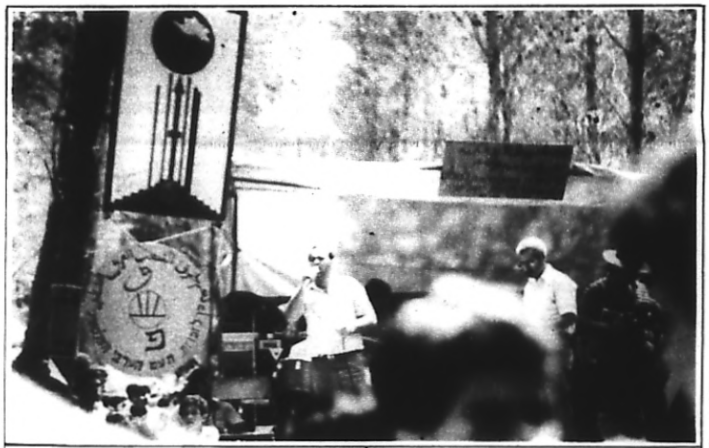
In another attack, the former mayor of Sarafand, Jawad Khalifeh, was killed when his booby-trapped car exploded as he drove through the city July 10. The National Resistance Front released a statement claiming responsibility for the attack and saying Khalifeh was an Israeli collaborator.

An Israeli military spokesperson admitted three other attacks, which he claimed did not result in any Israeli casualties. He said that one Lebanese civilian was killed and three others wounded when nervous Israeli troops opened fire indiscriminantly at pedestrians in the village of Jibshit July 9. The Israeli spokesperson said that the Israeli patrol opened fire after it came under small arms fire in the village.

In the third attack of the week, a katyusha rocket was fired at an Israeli position five kilometres south of Tyre. The Israeli spokesperson claimed that there were no casualties among Israeli troops. The Jerusalem Post, which reported the incident, noted that there have been increasing attacks involving katyusha rockets in recent weeks.

Nationalist commandos also hurled a grenade toward a South Lebanese Army unit as it patrolled Sidon. An Israeli military spokesperson who reported the incident claimed that the patrol suffered no casualties.

Israel radio reported July 11 that the military had set up two fully operating hospitals in south Lebanon to treat wounded soldiers rather than transferring them to northern Israel. The announcement confirms reports of an increasing number of Israeli casualties from occupation-resistance forces.



Activists for the Progressive List for Peace sponsored a picnic in Wadi 'Ara forest near Kufr Kara' July 8 for 3000 people, mainly from the surrounding villages. Speeches, singing, music and dancing entertained the crowd for four hours. Among the Israeli speakers was General (Res) Matityahu Peled (left), from the 'Alternativa' component of the list. On the Arab side, one of the speakers was Hassan Jabarin (above), from Um al-Fahm, head of the 'Ansar' that broke from 'Abna al-Balad' and joined the new list. All speakers emphasised the need for national self-determination for the Palestinian Arab people in a state alongside Israel and for equal civil and national rights for the Palestinian Arabs living inside Israel. Mapam Kibbutz Barkai members, who contributed to the event, were reprimanded later by the kibbutz secretariat/TS photos

July 13

Symposium — "Culture in the Occupied Territories," 10:00 am (Arabic).

July 14

'Ud playing and singing by Walid Abd al-Salam (Arabic).

July 19

All at the Nuzha/El-Hakawati Theatre, Jerusalem. Tel: 288189

Movie — "Catch 22," 7:00 and 9:15 pm (English).

WEEKLY REVIEW

July 4, 1984

PRE-ELECTION SETTLEMENTS

TEL AVIV — Israeli daily paper *HaAretz* said that Israeli security forces have information that groups of Israeli settlers in the West Bank are planning to establish more settlements in various parts of the West Bank, in the Jericho area, south of Hebron, in the Bethlehem area, and settlements in the Nablus area. A number of settlers approached government officials to obtain permission to establish the planned settlements at once.

NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS SUPPORT ADEN AGREEMENT

JERUSALEM — The representatives of national institutions in the occupied territories participated in a meeting held at the headquarters of the Worker's Unions in Jerusalem to stress their absolute support of the Aden agreement. They called upon the Palestinian parties to implement their agreement.

July 5, 1984

TWO YEARS FOR MEMBERSHIP

TULKARM — Israeli military court in Tulkarm sentenced Mohammed Anis of Tulkarm camp to 13 months in prison and 11 months suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

THREE STONES

Israel radio said that an Israeli woman was injured when the car in which she was travelling was hit by stones while passing by Dheisheh refugee camp on her way to Hebron. The Israeli forces started an investigation. An Israeli train on its way from Haifa to Jerusalem was stoned near Battir village. One passenger was injured. The glass of a train window was broken. An Israeli vehicle travelling on the new Ma'aleh Admumim road was also stoned. One passenger was injured.

NO-CONSTRUCTION ORDER

Israeli civil administration ordered work to be stopped on the Physician's Housing Project, east of Nablus, as of June 26, 1984. The housing project is located near Rujib village and consists of 20 housing units with two apartments each.

DELEGATION VISITS SYRIAN GOLAN

A delegation representing Galilee villages and Nazareth paid a visit to the Golan Syrian prisoners released in last week's POW exchange. Members of the delegation listened to a description of the Palestinian and Syrian prisoners' conditions in Israeli prisons.

TULKARM CAMP BAN LIFTED

The authorities lifted the travel ban imposed for several months on residents of Tulkarm refugee camp forbidding travel to Jordan.

REMAND OF QUMSIYEH AND SONS EXTENDED

Military court in Ramallah, on July 3, decided to extend the remand of former Bethlehem Village League head Bisharah Qumsiyeh and his four sons for another 25 days. They are being held for suspicion of a number of crimes, including murder.

July 6, 1984

ISRAELI VEHICLE STONED

Israeli radio reported that seven Israeli vehicles, including two taxis, were stoned in Tulkarm area. The windows of the vehicles were smashed and one driver was injured.

ABASAN YOUTH SENTENCED

GAZA — Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced 25 year-old Hashim Mohammed Salman Abu Hamad, from Abasan al-Kabirah, to one year in prison and one year suspended, on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

PRISON TERMS FOR ARRABA AND SAKHNIN YOUTHS

ACRE — Civil court in Acre sentenced Khaled Subuh, from the Galilee village of Arraba, to seven months in prison and six months suspended. He was fined IS250,000. Khaled was charged with raising the Palestinian flag on Land Day and demonstrating on the anniversary of Sabra and Shatila massacres. The court also sentenced Mohammed Khalil Shahin, from Sakhnin in the Galilee, to 48 days in prison and eight months suspended. He was fined IS30,000 on the same charges as Subuh. Ibrahim Khalayleh from Sakhnin was also sentenced to three months in prison and nine months suspended. He was fined IS25,000 on the same charges as the two above.

ONE MONTH FOR DEMO

NABLUS — Military court in Nablus sentenced 15-year-old Hasan Isa Hasan, from Bethlehem, to one month in prison and a fine of IS15,000 on charges of participating in a demonstration.

PRISONER RELEASED AND DEPORTED

Israeli authorities released Rida Mohammed Ja'far from Qabatyah village after completing 17 years in prison. He was deported to Jordan.

TOWN ARREST ON KIFAH ZUGHAIBI

JENIN — Military authorities renewed, for the third time, the town arrest order on Kifah Zughaibi, from Jenin, for another six months. Kifah Zughaibi completed a six-year jail sentence and was re-arrested four times without charge before the town arrest order was put on him.

July 7, 1984

SETTLERS DESTROY CROPS AT SANDALAH VILLAGE

The crops of farmers of Sandalah village along the Nazareth-Jenin highway have been destroyed for more than two weeks now. Last week 'unknown' persons destroyed large quantities of watermelons and stole some.

Following the recurrence of such acts, villagers arrested some residents of the nearby Jewish settlements. The police were notified but did not start an investigation.

Damages to the farms were estimated at hundreds of thousands of Israeli shekels.

LAND SURVEY NEAR ANABTA

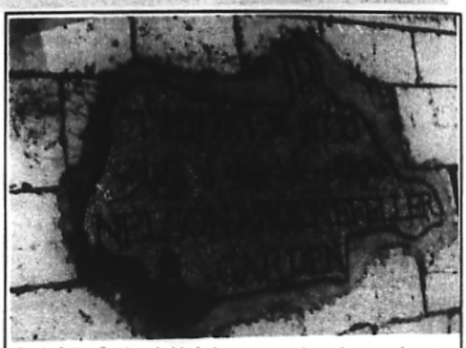
A number of Israeli surveyors are surveying vast areas of Deir Sharaf land along Nablus-Tulkarm road. A settlement road is to be built on this land.

RAYMONDA TAWIL BANNED TRAVEL

The Israeli military government prevented Palestinian journalist Raymonda Tawil from leaving for Jordan on her way to France to take part in a TV debate on the Israeli film *Khamsin*. Many top French journalists are participating.

TOWN ARREST RENEWED ON SAMI KILANI

The authorities renewed for six months the town arrest on Sami Kilani, Najah University lecturer, for the fourth consecutive time. He is to stay in Ya'bad village, near Jenin, and report to the police station in Toubas once a week.



Rockefeller Garden, behind the museum, is a pleasant place to relax during summer/AO photo

OBJECTIONS COMMITTEE CONSIDERS THE OBJECTION OF FOUR YOUTHS

The Israeli military objections comittee looked into the objections submitted by Mohammed Monasrah — Bethlehem, Abd al-Hadi Khatib — Beit Kahel, Khalil Bargouth — Beit Sahur, and Khalil Sous — Dora al-Khalil. The four have been under town arrest for several months.

Lawyers refuted the allegations of the prosecutor that the four youths were instigators. The committee will give a reply to Monasrah and Khatib in two days time. The requests of Barghouth and Sous will be dealt with in another session.

July 8, 1984

ADS OF SUPPORT FOR ADEN AGREEMENT

A number of Palestinian national institutions and organisations published ads of support to the Aden agreement. The ads congratulated the Palestinian people everywhere on their important achievement in Aden. The ads also thanked Yemen and Algeria for their contributions to the success of the dialogue.

ABU IYAD: FATAH DELEGATION TO DAMASCUS

A Fatah delegation is to visit Damascus next week to start intensive talks with Syrian officials on Palestinian-Syrian relations, according to Salah Khalaf, member of Fatah Central Committee.

YOUTH INJURED BY SHOT

Riyad Lutfi, 27, a villager from Nablus district, was admitted to the Arab Women Association Hospital in Nablus suffering from a wound in the thigh. He stated that the injury was caused by a shot fired by passengers of a speeding vehicle near the junction of Jaba village and Nablus. Police are investigating.

BRAWL IN THE OLD CITY OF SUQ AL-ATTARIN

A number of Jewish youths drew their pistols at a shopkeeper in Suq al-Attarin two days ago to force him into accepting back some items they had bought from him. When he refused they called the police who came at once.

Border police intervened in favour of the Jewish youths. The police arrested some Arab youths who gathered in front of the shop. Upon investigation, it turned out that the pistols were unlicenced.

Shopkeepers asked the police to put an end to this spreading phenomenon.

ISRAELI INDUSTRIAL AREA IN NABLUS MOUNTAINS

The Israeli ministry of trade and industry will begin within the next few days to level the ground for the construction of an industrial area belonging to the Efrat settlement in Nablus to house developed industrial plants. The first phase of the industrial area will be completed in one year. It will house electronic computers and tourist film plants. Efrat settlement is designed to absorb 5000 families. There are two hundred families in it at present.

SEVEN ISRAELI VEHICLES STONED

Seven Israeli vehicles were damaged over the weekend by stones thrown in the Tulkarm area. No injuries were reported. The stone-throwing incidents took place in areas hitherto unknown for such things. The first incident took place along Beit Lid-Tulkarm road. The second occured along Tulkarm-Qalansawa (within the 'green line') road. Stone-throwing continued from 10:30 pm until after midnight.

WEST BANK TEACHERS CABLE THE PHCE

The General Union of Government School Teachers

sent a telegram to the Palestinian Higher Council of Education (PHCE) meeting in Amman. The Union lauded the opening of the PHCE meetings and demanded that great concern be given to education in the occupied territories. The cable said twenty thousand holders of university degrees in the West Bank and Gaza are currently jobless.

SHAK'AH, HAMD ALLAH, KHALAF AND AL-TAWIL SUPPORT THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR PEACE AND EQUALITY

The first group of national figures, bodies, and organisations in the occupied territories signed an appeal to the Arab voters in Israel to vote for the Front in the Knesset elections. *Al Ittihad* published the names of the signatories of the appeal.

July 9, 1984

OBJECTIONS COMMITTEE CONSIDERS LAND CASES

The Israeli military objections committee held a session in Jerusalem to look into the case of Sharhah tribe land located in Ras Wad Abu Maydan area near Dura town in the Hebron district. The area in question is about 1700 dunums. Landowners submitted documents and title deeds proving their ownership. The case was adjourned until August 8, 1984.

The committee also held another meeting on al-Rujub tribe land located in Wad Khazin and Khirbat Jum'ah, northwest of Hebron. The committee heard the testimony of a surveyor and witnesses. Landowners submitted to the committee a new layout of the land which was accepted as an official document. The next hearing on the case is scheduled for July 16, 1984. Advocate Abd al-Karim Nammourah represented the landowners.

A NEW SETTLEMENT ONSLAUGHT

An informed Israeli source disclosed that the ministerial committee for building settlements decided to intensify its activities in the occupied territories. The source added that the committee, headed by Yuval Ne'eman, Israeli minister of science and number one man on Tehiya list, has decided to establish five new settlements. The committee also decided to transform eleven camps controlled by Nahal (volunteers in the Israeli army) to civilian settlements in the West Bank.

In addition, twenty Jewish families settled in tents on the site where Yani'out Adomim settlement will be established, near Bethlehem.

A SIT-IN AT NAJAH UNIVERSITY

Najah University worker's union called upon the residents to participate in a sit-in strike to be held at the university cafeteria July 10 from 9 to 11 am. The sit-in is staged in protest against the 'terrorist campaigns' by some students and outsiders directed at the university employees. The 'campaigns' described the university employees as 'traitors and spies' and the employees were physicaly threatened.

RAFIDYA DETAINEES FAMILIES STAGE SIT-IN STRIKE

Families of the new Nablus prison detainees staged a sit-in strike at the Red Cross offices in Nablus. They are protesting the bad conditions of the new prison. They demanded:

— Treatment of the chronically sick by specialists.

— Improvement of food rations.

— Dealing with a representative of the detainees. The representative will convey the detainees' requests to the authorities.

— Providing beds.

— Allowing a transistor radio set.

— Allowing papers and magazines.

— Increase in the detainee's monthly budget.

— Less crowded rooms.

— Increase of the 'break' period. The detainees spend more than 22 hours inside their rooms.

CHARGE SHEET AGAINST ADVOCATE KHALED QIDREH

Advocate Khaled Qidreh received the charge sheet against him by the police. He is charged with possessing inciting material in his office on February 2, 1984. Qidreh denied the charges, pointing out that he was away from his office at that time. He is currently under town arrest.

FIFTH CULTURAL WEEK IN AM'ARI

Preparations are underway to open the fifth cultural week organised by the youth centre at Am'ari refugee camp in Ramallah.

JERUSALEM MERCHANTS COMPLAIN

Arab merchants sent a memorandum to the director general of the Israeli ministry of finance, the customs director, and the income tax and national insurance departments. The merchants complained that taxes are threatening their future. They added that the language barrier is the cause of their suffering because Israeli laws are written in Hebrew.

CUSTOM OFFICIALS RAID SHOPS IN NABLUS

Israeli customs officials launched a campaign against a number of shops inside the old city of Nablus. They demanded payment of high sums of money ranging from IS100,000 to IS1million each.

US VICE CONSUL ENDS SERVICES

After two years of service, Carol Ellis Thompson, the American vice consul in East Jerusalem, ended her diplomatic services in Jerusalem. She was transferred to the operations centre in the US State Department in Washington. Thompson is due to depart to the US on July 11.

Gush Emunim settlers squat on a place near Ramallah they are calling 'Tel Avir' July 9, 1984, a convenient two weeks before elections. The Gush usually stake out plots unilaterally, hoping they will later be transformed into permanent settlements.

July 10, 1984

CURFEW LIFTED

Israeli military authorities lifted the curfew they imposed on Mughayir village, near Ramallah, following the discovery of an explosive charge on the road to an Israeli military camp. The curfew was imposed in the morning and lifted at two in the afternoon.

HEARING OF SHIBLI APPEAL POSTPONED

Nazareth district court postponed the hearing of the appeal submitted by Saleh Shibli against a sentence for two months in prison issued by a lower court. He is accused of slapping a Jewish boy. The next hearing is scheduled for September 25.

DEMANDS OF GAZA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE MET

A meeting was held between Haj Raghib Murtaja, head of the Gaza Chamber of Commerce, and the Israeli coordinator of activities in the occupied territories. The coordinator informed Murtaja of the authorities' approval of the demands submitted by the Chamber of Commerce last week. Among the demands are: release of funds for the Islamic University, allowing a delegation of the University to visit Saudi Arabia to raise funds and granting residence permits to University lecturers.

STUDENT RELEASED

The Israeli authorities released university student Mohammed Abd al-Wahid Salamin from Samu village near Hebron. He was detained for ten months on security charges.

WAQF OFFICIAL ARRESTED IN JERUSALEM

Jerusalem police arrested Ibrahim Hamadeh, an Islamic waqf official in Jerusalem, for allowing a funeral with the coffin wrapped in a Palestinian flag on the premises of al-Aqsa Mosque. The flag was confiscated by the police and a charge sheet is being prepared against this official.

NABLUS PRISON DETAINEES CONTINUE THEIR STRIKE

The detainees in Nablus central prison continued their strike which started Monday, July 2. The detainees are threatening to escalate their strike if the Israeli authorities do not meet their demands submitted to the authorities through the families of the detainees.

Beiruti women block the airport road with burning tyres, demanding the release of kidnapped relatives.

After 18years in the diaspora, Palestinian Kamal Boullata exhibited his art in Jerusalem last month. Al Fajr features editor Awad Abdel Fattah describes Boullata's art.

Kamal Boullata and the Politics of Creative Expression

Left: Boullata interviewed by a Swedish TV network at his exhibition in Jerusalem/AO photo
Right: A Boullata graphic for the cover page of Arab Perspectives magazine.

July 17 Palestinians viewed a new kind of fine art, produced by a Palestinian artist in the diaspora, Kamal Boullata. At the end of a world tour, Boullata's 20 serigraphs were on exhibition for ten days in the newly refurbished Nuzha al-Hakawati theatre in Jerusalem. Unlike other Palestinian artists who portray images from the Palestinian reality which echo the suffering of the Palestinian people and voice its cause, Boullata uses Arabic-Islamic culture and art as his source to render the same message. In his art, his brochure tells us, he chooses "to bring into contemporary focus the symbiotic relationship between the Arab language and the expressive modes of its visual manifestation."

42-year-old Boullatta returned last month to the homeland he left 23 years ago when he left to study art in the Academy of Rome and the Corcoran Art Museum School. In 1968, he moved to the United States where he took up residence in Washington. He is currently teaching a course on modern Arab culture at Georgetown University.

His works have been exhibited in East and West European countries, North Africa and the Middle East. In 1983, the Arab American Cultural Foundation sponsored an exhibition of his works shown in conjunction with *The Heritage of Islam* exhibition at the Smithsonian Institute's National Museum of Natural History.

His Skills Repressed in School

Kamal Boullata recalls that he was fond of drawing when he was a small child. By the fifth grade he had started drawing even during his school lessons. Instead of encouraging him, his teachers beat him for drawing images different from the model in the drawing lessons, or for his doodles during boring lessons. "But when I moved to another school," Boullata recalls, "I had more freedom as well as appreciation for my drawings." The school principal, when he discoverd his skill, asked him to paint a mural on the concrete fence of the school. Then in his early teens he drew many pictures of Jerusalem, streets, sites, houses and people. "I loved Jerusalem very much," he said. "I learned every nook and cranny by heart, and it has never disappeared from my mind since I left it." He sold the pictures which he drew of Jerusalem at that time to tourists.

Asked whether he drew political themes at that time, he answered: "It is not necessary that art be full of slogans in order to be political or nationalist. It is enough that the city of Jerusalem was a focal point in my drawings." He elaborated more on this point saying that 'homeland' is not an abstract notion as Zionists believe, rather Palestinians have a relationship with the homeland that is "physical and direct."

Boullata's art began to take on distinctive form after he travelled abroad. A biographical brochure, which was distributed during the exhibit here, describes Boullata as "belonging to a generation of Arab artists who are as thoroughly acquainted with the most recent trends in Western art as they are involved in the exploration of the visual heritage of their own culture." It adds "With their increasing awareness of the challenges raised by the dominant art of the West, the issue of originality has become a central preoccupation."

Rather than uniqueness, originality, for Boullata, means going back to the 'origin.' Words were the only portable tool of self-expression to nomadic Arabs, and with the emergence of Islam the word as spoken revelation and as visible image occupied a fundamental position within cultural expression. Throughout Islamic history, in fact, Arabs developed a 'talismatic' relation with the *word*.

Being so affected by the Islamic-Christian Arab culture, Boullata creates colourful laceworks with the Arabic alphabet, "partly to evoke the primordial element of visible language and partly to articulate the interplay between language and art." Each work is made of a system of signs in which both linguistic signification and graphic expressiveness are interdependent.

His deep involvement in the Islamic-Arab culture and art is reflected in all of his works. Words and statements from the Islamic and Christian religions are present in his works. "I should go to the roots," he explains, "it is not me who first started the art, I should be honest to myself." He compares the development of his artistic skill to the tree which grows diagonally, strikes roots and sends out branches.

According to Boullata, he does not use art only to portray the past, but to address what he considers fundamental questions facing the future of art.

Asked how he views the purpose or the message his art holds towards the Palestinian cause, especially because it does not reflect direct images from the present Palestinian reality, he answered that the mere exhibition of his art in the heart of Washington or in any other site fulfils its message. "I believe," he said, "that art does not have a decisive role in changing people or things but, for example, my art makes foreigners aware of the fact that the Palestinian people is not primitive but has a rich culture and art." He added that he is fully aware that art is incomparable to life; "a child who is crying is a thousand times stronger than a picture."

According to him, the challenges raised outside Palestine have been a strong incentive behind his developing his art. As an example, he recounted that unidentified people smashed his works in one exhibition he organised in the United States. "Our enemies," he said, "don't want us, not only in Palestine, but anywhere in the world."

Boullata is not only an artist but a writer as well. He has written many articles about art and Arab culture in the Palestinian and foreign press and has tried his hand at poetry. He has edited and written several books in English on literature related to contemporary Arab poetry. In the courses he teaches on Arab culture at Georgetown University in Washington, he chooses and researches topics on Arab culture or art himself, inventing the curricula, although he has no degree in this subject. "I have studied this subject by myself and I am still studying and learning, I am still a student," he said.

His works were exhibited in different parts of the world: Amman, Beirut, Baghdad, Tunis, Morocco, New York, Rome, Berlin, London, Oslo, Tokyo, Moscow and Washington.

Boullata is planning to return from the States and settle down once again in Jerusalem.

Reactions

Boullata's art frankly surprised many Palestinians in Jerusalem, who are used to seeing direct, political art. In Boullata's works, there is no image of a Palestinian farmer, worker or woman showing steadfastness and resistance to the occupation. Some viewers commented that Boullata is influenced by Western art and that his art does not deal with the Palestinian cause. But others cited different opinions. Khalil Abu Arafah, a local artist, told *Al Fajr*, "I believe that Boullata deals in the human culture, which is a valuable heritage." He added, "Regarding the technical level, it is wonderful and the designs are very sophisticated and precise."